



European
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FOR
POSTDOCTORAL
STUDIES



James Madison University & EUI Max Weber Programme

6th Graduate Symposium

European Policies in Times of Crisis

San Domenico di Fiesole, Villa La Fonte

25 March 2013

Co-organized by

James Madison University in Florence and Max Weber Programme, EUI

The EUI's Max Weber Programme and the James Madison University's M.A. programme in European Union Policy Studies present their **6th Joint Graduate Symposium**. The symposium aims to establish a platform for JMU's MA students to present their work and ideas about the EU in the professional setting of an academic conference. The papers discuss the various policies adopted by the European Union, with an eye toward scrutinizing their effectiveness and analyzing their impact. Overall, they seek to promote better understanding of the ever-evolving EU system of governance.

As two institutions promoting academic excellence, the EUI and JMU will grant an award for the best paper produced for the conference. The award will be given to the paper after its final submission, following the comments of the discussants and the Q&A session at the symposium, and further elaboration in agreement with the JMU professors. The scientific committee is comprised of JMU Professors **Jonathan Bright, Luigi Marattin, Aidan Regan and Chiara Steindler**. The award will be announced at the JMU Commencement Ceremony on June 21.

The Graduate Symposium is just one of several events created by the active collaboration between the EUI and JMU. The two institutions engage in a number of other cooperative endeavours throughout the year. If you would like to be informed about joint projects, to propose events, or to join existing collaborations between the EUI and JMU, please contact the Max Weber Programme's Academic Coordinator, Karin Tilmans (karin.tilmans@eui.eu) or the EUPS Academic Coordinator, Caterina Paolucci (paoluccx@jmu.edu).

Symposium organizers

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**EUI Max Weber Programme and James Madison University
6th Graduate Symposium, 25 March 2013**

Villa La Fonte, Sala Conferenza

PROGRAMME

9:15 – 9:30 Welcome & Opening

- Karin Tilmans
- Caterina Paolucci

9:30 – 11:45 Session 1

Economic and Financial Policy Reforms

Chair: Aidan Regan

- Rosemary McCann – **Immigrants' migration prospects: a comparative study of LME and SME systems**
Discussant: Charles Brendon
- Adam Brnardic - **European Competition and U.S. Interstate Commerce: *Laval v. Byggnad* (2007) and *United States v. Locke, Governor of Washington* (2000)**
Discussant: Tomas Dumbrovsky
- Dean Jezwinski – **The European Stability Mechanism in Times of Crisis**
Discussant: Michael Rousakis
- Rebecca Peterson – **Dualisation: The Tale of Germany and Sweden**
Discussant: Luigi Marattin
- Patrick O'Donnell - **Institutional and Operational Similarities & Differences between the ECB and the FED**
Discussant: Luigi Marattin

11:45 – 12:00 Coffee Break

12:00 – 13:30 Session 2

Justice and Home Affairs Policy Reforms

Chair: Julia Cordero

- Alicia Miller - **The Dilemma of Illegal Immigration: Can Greece Be Saved?**
Discussant: Edoardo Bressanelli
- Ja'el Daniely - **Whose Job Is It Anyway? A Critical View Of Asylum Policy**
Discussant: James Cross

- Jessica Friesen - **Preventing the Spread of Communicable Diseases at the European Level**
Discussant: Julia Cordero

13:30-14:15 Lunch Break

14:15 – 15:45 Session 3

Foreign and Security Policy Reforms

Chair: Gregorio Bettiza

- Sanja Puhalo - **One Union, Many Perspectives: The EU and the 2008 Georgia-Russia War**
Discussant: Gregorio Bettiza
- Kevin Manley - **Partant pour le Mali? France, the EU and Operation Serval**
Discussant: Simon Jackson
- Emily Slifer - **In the case of Palestine, has EU enlargement made it more difficult to find a consensus on UN votes?**
Discussant: Adam Bower

15:45 – 16:00 Coffee Break

16:00 – 17:00 Session 4

Keynote Lecture: ‘The European Union in Africa. Discourse and Policy Practice’

Valeria Fargion, University of Florence

Abstract of keynote lecture

Over the last fifteen years, the EU multiplied its commitments to promote social objectives globally. The lecture will *first* provide an overview of how the EU progressively incorporated a variety of social elements into the image it is trying to convey in the international arena and shed light on the effective ranking of social policy concerns within foreign policy priorities. To test the credibility of the EU as a global social policy actor, the *second part* of the presentation looks into what the EU has actually been doing on the ground. Considering the EU engaged in a major overhauling of its development policies in 2005, based on a clear prioritization of the *Millennium Development Goals* with a special focus on Africa, evidence will be provided on EU’s development policies in Sub-Saharan countries – notably among the poorest and most deprived areas of the planet. The final part will elaborate on the opportunity to refocus EU’s development co-operation in Africa in order to increase

the effectiveness of its action while at the same time improving the EU's political leverage and its current image in the eyes of the African citizenry at large.

Short bio of keynote lecturer

Valeria Fargion is Associate Professor of Political Science and holder of a Jean Monnet Chair on "The Politics of European Integration" at the University of Florence, School of Political Science, where she also teaches "Social policies and globalization" and "Local Welfare Systems".

17:00 Conclusion

- Aidan Regan
- Caterina Paolucci

Abstracts of the symposium papers

Session 1: Economic and Financial policy reforms

Rosemary McCann, **Immigrants' migration prospects: a comparative study of LME and SME systems.**

Through the last several decades there has been a dramatic increase in the amount of immigrants entering countries in the Western world. Individual European States (as well as the United States of America) have confronted the myriad problems incurred by high immigration in different ways. There is however a very real value in reversing the dilemma and confronting the issue from another point of view, that of the immigrant. Which system is better and more rewarding for an aspiring immigrant to travel to, a SME or an LME system? First this paper will discuss the characteristics of LME and SME states. Then this paper attempts to answer that question through analyzing the legal requirements for immigration, the workplace opportunities available to immigrants and the support immigrants receive from their country of destination. This paper finds that while migrants find it easier to take up residence and enter the labor market in an LME country, the social welfare programs

established in SME states that target newly arrived immigrants make migration to those states desirable as well.

Adam Brnardic, European Competition and U.S. Interstate Commerce: Laval v. Byggnad (2007) and United States v. Locke, Governor of Washington (2000)

Although the EU is not strictly speaking a federal state, and therefore still rarely part of comparative research designs, much could still be learned from a comparative study of the legal dynamics between EU competition and U.S. interstate commerce remedies put forth by U.S. and the EU. Most ECJ rulings on labor organizations in relation to European competition policy were piece-meal with no comprehensive long-term consequences. *Laval* changed this. Labor organizations have often acted as a pole to employers interests. The *Laval* decision dismantled decades of interstate labor relations in favor of competitiveness. Similarly, *Locke* prescribed that when interstate commerce is concerned, as long as national standards are met, state standards ('best practices') that impede national standards are void. The principle of the paper involves the similar and different ways the EU and U.S. regulate interstate competition and commerce through the ECJ interpretation of *Laval* and the U.S. Supreme Court's remedy given in *Locke*.

Dean Jezwinski, The European Stability Mechanism in Times of Crisis

With the establishment of the European Monetary Union in Europe, there have arisen a number of urgent concerns. Unfortunately, because of both internal and external factors, the European Monetary Union has created a number of problems, and the current economic crisis has challenged all of the founding principles of the creation of the monetary union. They are of sovereign debt, moral hazard, and the free rider problem. An instrument of vital importance which was put into place by European Politicians in an attempt to tackle these three key obstacles which stand in the way of the stability and growth of the European economy; the European Stability Mechanism. The ESM is essentially a 650 billion Euro fund that will help bail out troubled banks and economies throughout the euro zone. Located in Luxembourg; it is a supranational organization which will receive the majority of its contributions from largest European Economies, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and the

Netherlands. Through the European Stability Mechanism, bonds can be purchased which will be sovereign on the market, thus releasing some of the pressure on countries experiencing low levels of economic growth and trust, and consequentially very high borrowing costs. The ESM contains strict conditions from the countries benefitting from it, similar to the Maastricht Criteria and the ESGP which are its predecessors. The ESM is a much stronger entity comparatively. This report aims to analyze to extent to which the European Stability mechanism is able to solve these three central problems within the EMU. At the same time shall serve as a study to measure the institution itself, its composition and its technicalities. The report also is critical of the new permanent institutions, and explains in debt some potential drawbacks and points of concern that the institution has created, for example some written articles within the treaty for the European Stability Mechanism.

Rebecca Peterson, **Dualisation: The Tale of Germany and Sweden**

This paper examines the issue of dualism that arose in the aftermath of World War II. Dualisation is the division of workers who have protected employment, insiders, and those who are either unemployed or working in the informal sector, outsiders. In order to gain a better understanding of this division of the labor force, I look at two specific countries, Germany and Sweden. Three key factors that will be analyzed are government partisanship, traditional gender roles and institutions. I argue that these three issues caused a divergence in the two countries previously mentioned. The paper demonstrates that Sweden was more equipped to avoid labor market dualisation because of the strong support for the Social democratic party, limited emphasis on gender roles and a Universalist approach.

Patrick O'Donnell, **Institutional and Operational Similarities & Differences between the ECB and the FED**

This paper provides an assessment of the institutional and operational similarities and differences between the United States Federal Reserve Bank (Fed) and the European Central Bank (ECB). Early central banks took the form of government financing institutions that were established with the primary intention of being able to purchase government debt, especially during times of war. These early central banks were referred to as joint stock

companies because they used their abundant liquidity to interact with private banks through facilitating the transactions of large sums. The interactions often took the form of lending in times of economic crises, in which case the central banks acted as lenders of last resort. In determining which model would be most appropriate for the ECB it comes as little surprise that the German Bundesbank was chosen. This model is therefore reflective of the ECB's primary responsibility, or single mandate, to target inflation above all other economic objectives. In contrast, the Fed has been given a dual mandate, where it targets inflation in addition to a low unemployment rate. The Barro-Gordon model demonstrates the tradeoff between the structural unemployment rate and the corresponding level of inflation. The economic crisis has established the environment in which the ECB and Fed have shown to take differing stances in their approaches to economic distress. These different stances constitute the use of differing strategies and instruments, most notably the different approaches to quantitative easing.

Session 2: Justice and Home Affairs policy reforms

Alicia Miller, **The Dilemma of Illegal Immigration: Can Greece Be Saved?**

Over the past decade, the Greek government has been ineffective in properly addressing the issue of illegal immigration. During the Arab Spring, when other border countries, such as Italy and Spain, tightened their external borders—Greece did not. This has resulted in nearly half a million people within Greece being considered unauthorized. Now, with the economic crisis threatening to cripple the country's vitality, the national government is placing blame on illegal immigrants for the lack of job availability and domestic growth. Greece has already started to mainstream xenophobia, with future plans to revoke citizenship from any immigrant—including that of children born within the country. This paper examines the EU's policies on illegal immigration, how it has evolved, and what makes the case of Greece different in this area. It also suggests where the Greek policies can be improved, mainly (1) having the EU establish a AENEAS-like program that will advocate for fair and humane treatment of third country nationals (2) more focus on training within Frontex and (3) harmonizing Greek illegal immigration policy with that of other Member States.

Ja'el Daniely, **Whose Job Is It Anyway? A Critical View Of Asylum Policy**

This policy paper is an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the Stockholm Programme, particularly from the point of view of asylum seekers and institutions of the European Union. First, with the adoption of the proposal, EU institutions are confusing and overlapping their roles to a certain extent when monitoring or asking for evaluations of pieces of EU legislation. Through the treaties of the European Union, asylum policy has been an added competency. Within its jurisdiction, the EU has the power to draft legislation and propose mechanisms for asylum policies. Codecision is now the main decision-making procedure of the European Union but the key institutions have tangled their roles on drafting, approving, implementing and evaluating legislation. Secondly, asylum seekers have the most difficult time entering the EU and are often provided little protection or differentiation from illegal migrants. This is caused by the multiple policies drafted to protect them and guarantee fair and effective treatment. The increase of asylum applications, different causes of rejection in asylum requests, and the need to pay attention to subsidiary and other forms of protection strongly promotes the much work needed to be done in the areas of preventing, controlling and combating illegal immigration. This policy paper explores these deficits by analyzing the Stockholm Programme and its relevancy. It suggests that a harmonization of asylum procedure is needed to further the advances of the European Union and to offer more security for its citizens and asylum applicants.

Jessica Friesen, **Preventing the Spread of Communicable Diseases at the European Level**

Creating of a single market has increased the movement of goods, services and people across Member State borders. Along with this free movement of goods, services and people, it has also allowed cross-border spread of diseases. To respond to threat of cross-border pandemics, the EU has started to integrate their policies on communicable diseases. This has led to the creation of the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC). The EU has aimed at opening the lines of communication between individual Member States and the World Health Organization at tracking and researching communicable diseases and working

on prevention and response methods to prevent future outbreaks. This paper will examine the efforts that have been made into preventing the spread of communicable diseases, and future challenges it will face in implementing further policies and actions.

Session 3: Foreign and Security Policy Reforms

Sanja Puhalo, One Union, Many Perspectives: The EU and the 2008 Georgia-Russia War

This paper assesses the different Member States reaction to the Georgia – Russia war in August 2008. The war was between the Russian Federation and the two Georgian regions (South Ossetia and Abkhazia) on one side and Georgia on the other. Historical relationship between the two regions, Georgia and Russia can explain the outbreak of war. Under the leadership of French President Nicolas Sarkozy, the European Union advocated ceasefire and decided to postpone the Partnership Agreement with Russia until the troops had been withdrawn to pre-conflict positions. However, the EU actions were not one of unity. The Member States were divided based on several different elements, such as security and energy. Certain Member States accused Russia of unnecessary military violence while other Member States blamed Georgia for provoking the war. These different positions can be explained by individual Member States relationship with Russia.

Kevin Manley, Partant pour le Mali? France, the EU and Operation Serval

Despite initial widespread media attention, the recent French military intervention in Mali has begun to fade in the public eye as geopolitical crises emerge in other regions of the world. As a result, several issues raised by the Malian Civil War and the international response have not received the attention they deserve. First, Islamic terror groups had the potential to topple the Malian government and are continuing to destabilize the region. Is Operational Serval proving to have been effective? Additionally, the historical neocolonialist *Françafrique* relationship between the French Republic and its former African colonies has made the

Malian intervention somewhat suspect. This paper will examine these problems in the first half before moving into an examination of the EU-specific response. Most importantly, how are EU member states assisting the French mission, and how can their actions be improved? Considering its limited capabilities and competences, how can the EU best respond to this threat? This situation provides a unique opportunity for the EU to project force to stabilize its Neighbourhood. A proper response at this critical juncture could benefit all involved.

Emily Slifer, **In the case of Palestine, has EU enlargement made it more difficult to find a consensus on UN votes?**

This paper explores how the European Union votes in the United Nations. It does so by looking at the overall voting trends of EU member states on Palestine issues. It looks at the votes in 1988 on Palestinian statehood, 2011 inclusion in UNESCO, and 2012 non-member observer status. By looking at the vote a trend seems to emerge that due to the amount of enlargement in the EU the EU has a more difficult time getting member states to vote in one way in the UN. This paper looks at a variety of member states' point of views on the issues including member states that joined more recently as well as states differing in size and location to get a comprehensive view. It also looks at EU take on these votes to see where member states have followed their own agenda as opposed to an EU wide agenda. By looking at the research a clear conclusion emerges that EU enlargement has made it more difficult to present a common view on UN votes.